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619 175 167 721 accompanied them, founding near by the aldea of Peleguim under the chief Francisco. Others remained near Praia Grande under the leadership of a fugitive from justice named Marciano.

In 1900 these Timbira were reinforced by some twenty new migrants from the Pindaré. In that area chief Karinẽ"s band, which lived along the Riacho Gallego, had been exterminated by the Guajajára, who were aided by a rubber-gathering expedition. The survivors, led by chief Manoel Pixuna, fled to their tribesmen on the Gurupy.

In 1903 the Urubú attacked and killed several members of an encampment of these Timbira on a western affluent of the Gurupy-una, where they were gathering capahi oil. In 1906 the aldea of Peleguim reunited with that of Praia Grande. A new epidemic of measles claimed its victims, among them the "chief" Marciano, whereupon the survivors once more joined the Ayres Pereira family, which after being ousted from Bôa Vista by the Urubú had resettled upstream at the mouth of the Araparytíua.

619 161 191 177 During a six months' stay on the upper Gurupy in 1914 and 1915 I encountered t' is group several times. They were by then reduced to a population of 41, but in contrast to the Tembé had remained comparatively pure. They were peaceable, trusting, and loyal. Most of the men, but only a few of the women, spoke some Portuguese; however, in consequence of their proximity to the Tembé of Praia Grande, nearly all spoke likewise the Tupí dialect of that tribe. Among themselves they conversed exclusively in their rough, guttural Timbira tongue; the chief, Pedro [15] Čumeré, dictated to me a list of sixty-two words, for the most part reproduced in my Vokabular der Timbiras von Maranhão und Pará.

619 177 Even in their own settlement—a bare hundred paces from the Ayres Pereira household—they wore more or less clothing and had abandoned the ancient mode of dressing the hair. Only the older men still had extended ears, but removal of eyebrows and lashes was still a general practice. Bows and arrows were used only to shoot fish, having been superseded by firearms in the chase.

A year before my arrival they had celebrated an old-style festival, with racing logs and masks. Of these I was able to view the remains: cylindrical headdresses with two long horns and a feather mosaic; their term ku' uxį'd corresponds to the Rąmkõ'kamekra kõkrį't.[a] It had been the very last festival of the kind, for the only elder capable of conducting it had died since the performance.

[241] 619 178 161 At the time of my visit the Timbira had unfortunately given up farming, to which they had begun to devote themselves, in order to gather capahi oil, hire themselves out as river boatmen, or otherwise enter the service of the rubber gatherers, a mode of life bound to lead to economic and social ruin. Nevertheless they maintained their population for some years to come, for the census of 1919 sets their number at 43. Today, after their transfer by the Serviço to the Tembé station (Felippe Camarão), at the mouth of the Jararaca, there are said to be only a few survivors.

I could not ascertain a tribal name for these Timbira, possibly because the bands that emigrated from the Pindaré at different times belonged to different tribes which united only on the Gurupy. In their earlier home on the Pindaré there are no longer any Timbira.

### *2–3. The Krẽyé of Bacabal; the Kukóekamekra*

619 101 These two tribes, together with the extinct Pobzé, probably correspond to Ribeiro's "Timbiras do Baixo Mearim,"[b]—people, he declares, who are called "Guajojaras."

[a] It designates a water monster and the society named after it.

[b] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 57; Roteiro, 26.

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619 178 167 The tables have turned by now. Reduced in numbers and robbed of their territory, the Pukóbye survivors have sunk almost to the same untenable position as the Krîkatí in the period of their destruction. Over them, too, the Damocles' sword of a massacre by Grajahú fazendeiros is constantly suspended. For a long time they have been ousted from their tracts along the Rio Sant' Anna (once named R. Piocobgê, after them) and pushed toward the edge of the tropical forest region of the Pindaré. For a long time they inhabited an aldea on the Morro do Chapeu, east of the upper Pindaré. The census of 1919 credits this village with 52 inhabitants, who are wrongly registered as "Canellas." The figure may be too low for that period, but confirms my informants' statements, that the true Pukóbye have dwindled to [162] very inconsiderable numbers, the majority of the people now inhabiting Pukóbye settlements being members of other tribes, notably Krîkatí refugees.

619 161 162 In 1929, when I visited these Indians, they occupied the aldeas of São Felix and Recurso, situated at a distance of sixteen kilometers from each other, somewhat north and south of Morro do Chapeu. They harbored possibly 150 and 120 inhabitants, respectively. In São Felix, more particularly, there were many Krîkatí from the settlements broken up in the previous year. In Recurso I heard about remnants of an unidentifiable Timbira group, the Kôtu'krekateye (those of the little black creek), who are said to have once lived somewhere between the upper Grajahú and Mearim; suspected of participation in the Guajajára rebellion of 1901, they had fled to the Pukóbye.

In 1924 Snethlage recorded one hundred and thirty Pukóbye words in Barra do Corda;[*] five years later in São Felix I took down two hundred and thirty.

### *7. The Western Gaviões*

619 101 173 Somewhat below the Araguaya confluence the Tocantins bends northward from its east-west course. The forests in the angle thus formed are now inhabited by an Indian tribe that according to the tradition of the Pukóbye of the Grajahú steppes seceded from them a long time ago, betaking itself to the woods. As a matter of fact the Neobrazilians designate both groups as Gaviões without recognizing any differences between them.

619 175 101 [114] The earlier reports on the region in question register solely a "Jacundá tribe," which, however, does not seem to have been of the Timbira branch. The first to mention it is Villa Real[*] in 1793. At that time they were living on the Guayapi and Jacundá, eastern tributaries of the Tocantins in the region of the Itaboca rapids. Their chiefs were Uoriniuera and Claxira, of which names the former, unlike the second, is definitely Tupí. Notwithstanding the lack of all linguistic evidence Martius and Ehrenreich class the group as Tupí; the latter also erroneously places it on the west side of the Tocantins. The people are described as light skinned and amiable.[*] Ribeiro mentions them in 1819, Castelnau in 1844.[*] In 1849 they are still registered among the tribes within the domain of Santa Thereza mission, and in 1850 Ayres Carneiro met them on the Praia Ambauá, somewhat above what is now Alcobaça.[*] This is their last appearance in history, and in 1859 the Gaviões for the 619 175 221 first time figure in their place.[*] At that period they were hostile to all other tribes, likewise avoiding relations with civilized people whenever they encountered them

[*] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 187 f.
[*] Villa Real, Viagem, 425 f., 432.
[*] Marques, Apontamentos, "Tocantins."
[*] Ribeiro, Memoria, Nota 51. Castelnau, Histoire, 2:117.
[*] J. F. Coelho, 76. Carneiro, Itinerario, 25.
[*] Ferreira Gomes, Itinerario, 496.

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619 175 221 on the Tocantins, whose banks the Indians visited in summer in quest of tortoises and their eggs. Express statements deny that they were then in the habit of attacking civilized travelers.

The split into Eastern (Grajahú steppes) and Western Gaviões may date back to the closer intercourse with whites that set in after 1850. The section of the tribe 619 that did not trust the peace overtures or spurned them on principle may then have 174 retreated into the primeval forest in order to escape from civilization. 921

Subsequently the invasions of rubber collectors and later of the chestnut gatherers as well led to bloody encounters, whence the reputation of the Gaviões for great savagery. Especially in the little town of Marabá, the center of the rubber and chestnut traders, lying directly at the edge of the Gaviões region, at the Tacayuna confluence, people are constantly clamoring for the extermination of the tribe, justifying it with such descriptions as Simões da Silva in complete innocence presented to the Americanists' Congress in New York.[a]

In reality the Gaviões are by no means the bloodthirsty, predatory beasts portrayed by the pathological hatred of profit-greedy chestnut traders. Again and again they have tried—even after bloody punitive expeditions—to live at peace with the Neobrazilians on the Tocantins. But every manifestation of amiability was immediately followed by an invasion of the interior, which soon led to the killing of this or that intruder. Then there was a terrific hue and cry about "treachery," the incident was cited to prove the impossibility of peace with the Gaviões, and the Government was urged to shoot them down so as to throw open 619 "the fabulous wealth" of their region "in the interest of the state." And the former 648 government of the state of Pará, the very one that erected a monument to the 178 Indian race in the Praça Brazil of the capital, actually took such measures some years ago.

The easily intelligible desire of the Gaviões is simply to live in peace with the Neobrazilians, without being crowded out of their villages.

In 1895 these Indians made a treaty of peace with Raymundo Liart at Bocca do Tauiry, somewhat below Marabá, and three of them visited Pará.[b] About 1912 they were in peaceable relations with Manoel da Matta in the same locality. For a number of years they have been maintaining friendly relations with a certain José Messias in Mãe Maria, somewhat below the mouth of the Araguaya, and permit him to exploit the stands of chestnut trees there. Basing their expectations on these amicable relations, which depend solely on that man's individuality, the chestnut gatherers have formed a whole village in that locality, and are constantly advancing in spite of José Messias' attempts to control them. As a matter of fact, one of them has already had an arrow shot at him. In consequence the police commissioner of Marabá, who had a short time previously shot to pieces a village of the Šikrí Kayapó in the Tacayunas region, immediately asked the state government for additional firearms and ammunition so as to be able to extend the same tactics to the Gaviões. However, the punitive expedition never encountered any Indians—presumably because its leader was the above-mentioned José Messias, who did not in the least approve of the maneuver contemplated.

In 1937 the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios established a post with federal troops farther downstream, at the Ipixuna confluence, and according to the last reports 619 the Gaviões have put in a peaceable appearance there. 721

Obviously since the destruction or expulsion of the Jacundá the Gaviões have

[a] Simões da Silva, 747–750.
[b] Moura, De Belém a S. João, 200, 223–236.

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619 101 (piranha [*Serrasalmo* sp.]), referring to the red paint put on the lower jaw, a decoration peculiar to this tribe among the Timbira. Ribeiro mentions the "Ponecra" as neighbors of the Sacamecrans (Cą'kamekra).[97] In 1819 Martius obtained a vocabulary from a band of this tribe mixed with Krahō', which had come on a visit to Caxias.[98] His orthography of the tribal name, "Aponegicrans," proves that he heard it not from the natives themselves, but from one of his Brazilian informants, probably Oliveira Figueiredo, since Ribeiro's spelling gives a simpler and phonetically better form. Martius' word forms in some measure coincide with my lists of 1913 and 1930. His frequent use of the "Sch" symbol is due to the occasional merging of the "y" sound into "z" or "ž" among the Apą'nyekra (as well as Krahō').

619 115 In 1913 I encountered a Canella band at São Luiz and obtained a short word list from the leader. He mendaciously declared himself a Rąmakō'kamekrere, that is, Rąmkō'kamekra from Ponto. Subsequently I got to know him well; he turned out to be the chief of the Apą'nyekra of Porquinhos, Capitão Chico Noleto. Members of his tribe often pretend to be Rąmkō'kamekra, because these enjoy a somewhat better reputation among Neobrazilians.

619 131 The Apą'nyekra occupy the village of Porquinhos on a small right-hand tributary of the upper Rio Corda. In the east they used to adjoin the Rąmkō'kamekra on the Porcos-Papagaio watershed, these being likewise tributaries of the river from the same direction. Westward they extended beyond the Rio Corda: into the steppe region of the upper Mearim—not the forests, which are held by the Guajajára. Their western neighbors were probably the Pųkóbye of the Rio Grajahú region.

619 721 178 Of this ancient habitat they retain approximately the site of their present village. Their community is decadent: the residents are almost constantly gadding about on the outside, devoting little time to agriculture. Their impertinent mendicancy, in which the above-mentioned chief excels, makes a sojourn among them highly unpleasant. Allegedly they were often at war with the Rąmkō'kamekra and proved more than a match for them. At present they are inferior in numbers and otherwise to their old enemies, who rather look down upon them, while their relations with the Krahō' and Pųkóbye have always been better.

619 161 The census of 1919 estimates the Apą'nyekra at 118 souls; during my visit in 1929 I set the figure somewhat higher, at possibly 130. Since then it has obviously increased somewhat. In 1930 I obtained a vocabulary of one hundred and sixty-nine words.

619 131 101 *13. The Rąmkō'kamekra.*—Until 1934 these eastern neighbors of the Apą'nyekra occupied the large village of Ponto, south of Barra do Corda, near the sources of the Santo Estevão, a left affluent of the Ourives. As to the distance of Ponto from Barra do Corda observers are strangely at variance: Snethlage sets it at one hundred and twenty kilometers; Fróes Abreu speaks of one hundred kilometers, which his map reduces to fifty; having myself covered the entire distance on a mount some twenty times and measured part of it with a 10-meter rod, I cannot put the distance above seventy-eight kilometers.[99]

The tribal name is derived from a small eastern source of the Santo Estevão known to Neobrazilians as Cabeceira do Campo. This brook (kō, water) in turn gets its name from the almecega trees (rąm, almecega [*Protium* sp.]) along its banks. Thus, the word as a whole designates "the tribe on the almecega water."

[97] Ribeiro, Roteiro, 43.
[98] Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:820. Beiträge, 2:149.
[99] Snethlage, Meine Reise, 464. Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 167.

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aboriginal, is the forest creeper the Timbira call ha'krõ, the Neobrazilians timbó. The Indians tear it out with the roots, then wash off the earth, and tap the root on a log with an appropriate stick so as to separate the fibers. While some rinse the fiber balls in the water of the creek, others wait downstream in order to seize with their hands the stupefied fish as they drift along, or spit them on arrows, or catch the smaller fry with a scoop net, krį, this last being a conical net mounted on a hoop without a handle. My reason for regarding it as aboriginal is that, while lacking among both the Guajajára and Neobrazilians, it appears in the same form with the identical designation among the Eastern (Rąmkõ'kamekra, Pųkóbye, Kre'pų'mkateye) and Western Timbira. The small fish are collected in gourd bowls or little baskets, the larger ones are ranged on special cords, tepčečą, with a wooden tip at one end and a transverse stick at the other (fig. 6).

In drugging fish, too, they like to select a young tamhą'k, who is the first to enter the water when the stupefied fish begin to appear, while the other Indians wait on

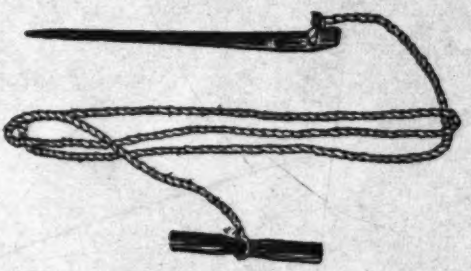

Fig. 6. Cord for stringing fish. Approx. ½ nat. size.

the bank. He spits the first three fish on his arrow, signalling for each by a shout, to which the others respond by screaming and the blowing of trumpets. Then he leaves the water and hands the fish to an old man, while everyone starts gathering the spoils.

### Gathering

Gathering is indissolubly linked with nomadic or seminomadic life. Farmers in a restricted territory, like the present Timbira, cannot gather in the steppe with any measure of profit.

However, though this source of food has shrunk almost to the insignificance of fishing through the progress of agriculture and the restriction of the habitat, the Rąmkõ'kamekra still pray to the sun to protect the steppe fruits and let them grow to gladden men's hearts. This is done somewhat differently than in the corresponding prayer for game, though in almost identical words. The speaker was the oldest man of the entire tribe. He went to the plaza in the morning, rested one knee on the ground, stretched out an empty gourd bowl toward the sun, and said, "Kédeti imą ampó čo yamã ke imã hokati vayakrį'."

Before rice and manioc flour were available, when the tribal territory was about twenty times its present extent, the gathering of steppe and *galeria* fruits was perhaps proportionately greater. Ribeiro,[200] who evidently observed the Timbira with special frequency during their migratory period, enumerates the following among their wild fruits:

[200] Memoria, § 11.

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deceased than she quite suddenly falls to blubbering rhythmically for several minutes. Such lamentation is indispensable if some tribesman arrives whom the mourner has not seen since her loss or who has been away for some time. In the latter case—as whenever I myself return—another idea coöperates: sympathy with the homecoming traveler, who is supposed to have been exposed to all manner of privations, maltreatment, and dangers during his absence. He seats himself on the mat as described above, his kinswomen lay their heads or arms against his shoulder and bawl in the way indicated, actually shedding tears, and some of them working themselves into a profound state of excitement. On one occasion a mother gave vent to sentiments of despondent grief when she caught sight of a feather ornament given me by her daughter, who had died during my absence.

During major festivals lamentations of this sort are always to be heard emanating from some house or other: The inmates remember some dead relative who would have played a part in the present proceedings if still alive or recall a child on whom the role should have devolved. At major log races I have several times seen some age class throw down the log and then at once trot over to the maternal home of their deceased champion runner in order to join his relatives in bewailing him.

### DIVISION OF LABOR

As superficial observers are wont to do, Fróes Abreu alleges that Rąmkõ'kamekra men lead a life of idleness while women labor.[209] As stated in the relevant sections, all hard work—the clearing of woods, hunting, war—devolves solely on the men, who moreover take part in a series of supplementary activities. It is true that the development of agriculture, the recession of the chase, and the elimination of war have increased feminine work and diminished masculine obligations. On the other hand, women hardly gather wild fruits any more and the construction of more substantial houses, along with the rise of a by no means insignificant home industry has added to masculine labor. Abreu declares that the women manufacture baskets and mats (p. 180), yet pictures a matmaking man (p. 58)! His statement holds only for certain special types of basketry; others and also mats, the most important article for trade, are never made by women. Burity mats, large, rectangular food bags and lidded suspension pouches are for the most part of Rąmkõ'kamekra, in small measure of Apą'nyekra, provenience. They are found in pretty nearly all houses of the central interior of Maranhão and especially in the shops of Barra do Cordo. This industry fails to develop more rapidly for the solitary reason that all trading between the Rąmkõ'kamekra and the whites is aimed at mutual cheating.

The most one can say is that as the children's caretaker and the sole laborer at domestic chores woman is more constantly employed than man. In any case she is far too independent by virtue of her social status to turn into an idle husband's beast of labor.

### DIVORCE

Only a few reasons warrant the rupture of marriage with a virgin—barrenness, grave maltreatment, and adultery. As for the first-mentioned ground, I know of only one case, and even there I gained the impression that the wife's sterility was a pretext rather than the real reason. Excessive abuse of a woman led to divorce in a few instances, all of them the result of alcoholism. Adultery on either side is the commonest reason, though, as among the Apinayé, many spouses are willing to overlook a mate's straying from the narrow path. However, Abreu exaggerates beyond all reason in alleging that "as Canellos desconhecem a fidelidade conjugal"

[209] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 179.